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EAST TIMOR SOLUTION

by Muchtar Pakpahan, DR.,MA.,SH

I. Introduction

Actually I am not a scientist of East Timor. I am a civil lawyer and unionist (the leader of DPP- SBSI) who give attention personally to watch politic, economic and social life in my country, Indonesia. So, I am here on behalf of myself as a personal.

East Timor is the 27th province of Indonesia which never stops from journalism news both national and international. The news actually is caused by continuity problems come from one to another sector, but still in the same root. According to my opinion, the root of the problems is about integration and social justice.

Integration case is, from the time being there are still some timorese do not accept to intregate into Indonesia. And social justice is, appearing negative effect of national development which cause social unjustice. Such as felt by almost all provinces in Indonesia. In this point of view, I hereby would like to explain my opinion.

II. History of East Timor Integration.

"Unresponsible Portugal " and " Portugal does not take care of East Timor ", are the right sentences as conclusion of Portugal colonialisation history against East Timor for about 450 years. This conclusion became clear and correct entering decade of 70th.

Revolucao Dos Cravos or Flower Revolution on April 25,1974 in Portugal was the climax of East Timor change. Entering twentieth century, specially after the end of second world war, appearred a new realization for people of colonial countries. At where they would like to be free from colonialisation. They want to have independent government as a freedom nation. these such spirits have supported people in the colonies as in Africa,Asia and America continents area, included East Timor.

There was colonist who was smart and wishfull to read the situation, so the colonist gave freedom to the colony well and also on the right time, as done by England colonist. But, there was colonist who did nothing,and at last blooding struggle happened on the colony everytime, such as Portugal against East Timor and Dutch against Indonesia.

Actually, there was Portuguese leader who cared of the demand of the colony to get their freedom, like General Antonio de Spinola. Spinola wrote a book of " Portugale O Future " on March 1974 which mentioned his idea that there will no hope for Portugal to get win from Africa war. He proposed that it would be better to give federation status with fully otonomy to their colonies.

Spinola, then getting a risk of his writing to be quitted from his position by Marcelo Caentano who was Prime Minister at that time. It was not only that, General Fernando da Costa, Spinola leader also was quitted from his position as the chief of army land force.

Then this military persons organized MFA (Movimento Das Forces Armada) silently, followed by their cudeta and got succeed to move dictator leadership, Marcello Caetano from his position leader. The government leadership become on the hand of General Spinola as the president and General Fransisco da Costa Gomes as the vice president. This cudeta is famously called Flower Revolution or Revolucao dos Cravos. The new leader gave freedom to their colonies to have their own fate. Then, this justice have caused fighting among Timorese themselves without frame and system.

Initially it appeared three big politic parties as the reactions against Spinola solution. These three parties were UDT (Uniao Democratica de Timor), Fretilin (Frente Revolucionario de Timor Leste Independente), and Apodeti (Assiciacao Populer Democratica de Timor). There were still some small parties, but most of them refer to these three big parties.

The future of East Timor, specially of these three parties have different point of view. The UDT formerly wanted that East Timor kept under control of Portugal, but on August 11,1975 the UDT became a motorist to integrate East Timor to Indonesia.

At first, Fretilin was catholic family party that wanted to have its own freedom. If this party could not succeed, they preferred to integrate to Indonesia. Lately this party have been enterred by new leaders and changed the name (from ASDT become Fretilin and changed their idealism to struggle for freedom with Marxism oriented.

Since Apodeti have their organisation, they kept struggling to integrate into Indonesia. From the first, colonial government did not like them. On the other hand UDT was colonial government partner.

It was just short period of Spinola control the state, then he was changed by Fransisco da Costa Gomes (his vice president), who was closed to comunist. And the effect to East Timor as follows ; Jose Almeida Santos, the far east minister who had full responsibility for East Timor, promised to solve east Timor decolonisation, but then there was no realisation. What happenned after Portugal sent Colonel Lemos Pires as East Timor governor. His presence has made important change, The governor before him closed to UDT, and Lemon Pires to Fretilin.

The changing attitude of colonist government provoked UDT to cudeta on August 11,1975, and succeed to control government in a short time. But then, East Timor became uncontrol, when Fretilin succeed removed UDT and announced East Timor freedom on November 28,1975 together with their revenge against UDT. In this matter Portugal let the uncontrol situation by nothing. Then

followed proclamation from UDT, Apodeti, Kota, and Trabalhista on November 30,1975 in Balibo with their statement that East Timor integrate to Indonesia and also asked Indonesia to help entering East Timor and controlling the situation.

In this unbalanced situation of East Timor, Fretilin dominantly has made worried for Indonesia and Australia who have traumatic against comunist, added by USA attitude who is anti-comunist.

Based on the statement announcement on November 30,1975, Indonesia politically has had the right and duty to enter East Timor, more over psycologically supported by comunist trauma. This has followed by issuing Constitution no.7, 1976 dated July 17,1976 stated East Timor become part of 27th province of Indonesia.

III. Cultural Heritage

Shortly, It could say that economic East Timor condition now is far better compared to the East Timor condition before integrating to Indonesia. Indonesia government has developed infrastructure which has been growing very fast. Indonesia manages a fund which is big enough for East Timor to develope East Timor; such as making long hotmix good road,build some school and social buildings and presence many social and economic facilities, and others.

To see the economic development of East Timor, I could say here that Suharto, the present president, has treated East Timor as a beloved youngest child. The fund for East Timor proportionally is more than the fund for other provinces, more over military fund.

To complete this paper, I enclose some tables for comparison, and because economic is not my field study, so I only explain shortly here.

According to me, integration of East Timor to Indonesia economically gives nothing for Indonesia. East Timor has no much and valuable natural source deposit, and also has no human source power to develope the whole Indonesia in this time and the future. From politic point of view, this integration has given a heavy burden on and on. East Timor become useful for Indonesia is from security defense point of view. From the security defense point, I mean here, that if there is East Timor nation with comunist ideology or marxism, it will be problem for Indonesia.So it is from this point, I think that Indonesia keeps straight to integrate East Timor.

If security defense calculation is dominant reason to keep integrating East Timor. Actually this reason is not also true,when it is seen from the reality. East Timor actually become problem for political stabilisation, which means problem for Indonesia security and defense. After I try to find out the root of problems, I think there is connection with cultural heritage.

Joao De Sousa Saldanha writing mentioned that within 450 years East Timor under Portugal colonialism,Timorese were on fighting and struggling. One time East Timor citizens all or some part against colonialism, another time they fight among themselves.

According history note, East Timor had only been quiet for about 15 years (1959 - 1974) since 1959 was the last struggling in Uatu-Lari-Uatu-carbau and Viqueque. Fighting tradition and struggling has been on their mind which were caused by Devide et Impera mode done by Portugal, this mode have done by colonists anywhere at that time. Another heritage from Portugal is the East Timor attitude who like to spend more but not to work hard.

These kind of heritage can still be seen in this time, and this also the burden for Indonesia. It is because of cultural heritage of Hollandist colonialism in Indonesia for 350 years and cultural heritage of Portugal colonialism in East Timor for 450 years is also different.

The effect of their hobby to fight made another event when East Timor in a 'Khaos' codition in 1974 - 1976, they were divided into three groups. One group wanted to keep together with Portugal as otonom, another want to get freedom, and the third want to integrate to Indonesia. Then the three group become smaller to be two group. That is, the first wanted to integrate to Indonesia and the second wanted to be free as a nation, these followed by everlasting fighting.

The fact, there are two parties which have their own supporters. One party which prefer to integrate to Indonesia with Balibo proclamation on November 30,1976 supported by UDT,Apodeti, Kota, Trabalhista. And the other party which prefer to have their own nation supported by Fretilin through their statement on November 18,1976. These two parties are still going on and having their members,but it is difficult to approve how many are they or their percentage. If I see from the reality, mayority is supporting to integrate.

According to my opinion, East Timor case should be settled with democracy and human right garantie. If there is no such solution, fighting will continue on and on. If everlasting fighting happend, this will give disadvantages for Indonesia. These following explanation are my idea.

IV. Solution

From the time being East Timor case has no end. The fact, this East Timor case has already spent much fund and energy, and also become International problem which make international bad image to Indonesia nationality. For me, this will be in ' question' Whether there is any profit politically and economically to combine East Timor into Indonesia, so Indonesia keeps straight integrating this East Timor to Indonesia. It is clear among some timorese who have in mind " East Timor has just finished colo-

nized by Portugal then colonized by Indonesia." This statement is absolutely still on them and will keep continuing if represive way approaching the timoresse still done such this 20 years. It should be with new approach based on the meaning of 1945 constitution preamble. Everlasting peace and social justice are the basic, and also democracy and human right protection are the way out to have solution.

To solve East Timor case very well, it is supposed to give timorese referendum right democratically to decide whether East Timor will integrate to Indonesia or to get freedom to have their own country.

There are four considerations that I would like to propose, they are ; 1. Ideological principle, 2. Mission principle, 3.Historical principle, 4.The fact. The following are my opinions.

1. Ideological principle

This discussion will be started from the basic point,that is from Indonesia ideological of 1945 constitution preamble. Indonesia point of view to have International relation is to make the world better and peaceful based on freedom,peaceful and social justice with Pancasila foundation. In the East Timor solution, Indonesia has settled with military force for about 20 years and still has not finished yet. It may reevaluate again from this ideological point.

Ideological basic of Indonesia is freedom, everlasting peace and social justice. Is Indonesia from the time being still keeping on this basic or out of the line ? It seems that Indonesia feels difficulty to give freedom to timorese to have their own fate democratically through referendum "have on freedom" or "Integrate to Indonesia". The truth, peaceful and social justice has not reached yet for timorese.

2. Mission principle

According UUD 1945 preamble Indonesian mission ofInternationalism is to delete colonialism in the world because colonialism against humanity and justice, and beacuse freedom is the right of every nation.

In international world, there are still countries stated that Indonesia colonizes or occupies East Timor. On the other hand, Indonesia mission is to delete colonialism from the surface of this earth. It is not nice to accept the words as a colonist or occupier, with Indonesia mission is to delete colonialism. Another international topic, is Indonesian soldiers often do something unhumanist and unjustice. Liquisa Dili case is the prove issued, despite other cases.

3. Historical approach

East Timor geograpically which is on one line with south east islands of Indonesia, is part of the whole nation. The area

of the whole nation historically was becoming the area of Indonesia Republic. At early freedom of Indonesia,there were two choices which were available against wich parts included in the whole nation. The choices between Mataram - Majapahit area heritage or Dutch colonies. The first approach means Papua Nugini,Malaysia,Singapore,Brunei Darusalam and Philippine, so those would be Indonesia Republic area. If the meaning like this, in this present context,Indonesia should fight against all of them. Wishfully,Indonesia refers to the nationalism chose the second, that is all Dutch colonies area.

If approaching to history basic, all Dutch colonies area become Indonesia Republic, but East Timor was Portugal colony. In this case , Indonesia does not close the door to accept timorese who want to integrate to Indonesia democratically.

4. The fact

The fact, there are still many timorese do not accept to integrate to Indonesia. They say that Indonesia occupies their country. How many percent are disagree, it needs to evaluate democratically.

Based on those four consideration above, it would be absolutely right to give timorese their right to solve their own fate through referendum, whether to integrate to Indonesia or to get their own freedom. This referendum should be done under control of United Nations.

No need to worry for Indonesia, the fact, Indonesia has done something meaningful to timorese. And if the referendum states that most of timorese prefer to get freedom, Indonesia should accept openly because Indonesia is a nation based on Pancasila and UUD 1945.

I am sure with referendum East Timor case will be able to settle clearly. Let us think well,objectively and cool. Do not be apriori first.

V. Conclusion

This time I and my friends are struggling to bring change and renewal in Indonesia, which we fight peacefully ad nonvilence. The change and renewal here mean to return this present system to 1945 constitution and realy based on Pancasila and 1945 constitution.

The systems are economic, politic, and social cultural systems, because this present systems bear problem which show social unjustice and social gap separating the rich and the poor.

In my thinking, East Timor is the part of this change. I am striving to make the Indonesian leaders sure, in order to realize that the change and renewal is a need from where Indonesia able to control and solve the problems.

There are two ways to present this change and renewal.First,reformation through the ways available based on constitution and second reformation through revolution or people power.Reformation, it is almost sure that there will be no victim, and will approve valuable culture of a nation, and also the wisdom of the leaders. Now I am doing to make this reformation, and if it is not succeed, one day this kind of revolution will come.

The leader of our nation, Dr.Soekarno (the first president) ever said " We love peace, but we prefer to love freedom. " Based on this statement I also say " I love peace, but I prefer to love change and renewal ."

I wish and hope International community support and pray for us, in order to get succeed to bring the change and renewal peacefully and nonviolence.

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